Traditionally the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition, and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's* 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of *candomblé*, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity, while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the *mãe de santo* who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former lawyer!

Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and without education. Two examples are the plantation administrators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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officials of the middle tier, and the predominantly black slaves of the lower stratum.[18]

The duration of this particular organization was, however, brief. As the color line bent further under pressure of the rising mulatto, certain of the more able or more successful mixed-bloods broke through into the upper tiers.

The development of the cities increased the possibilities for economic advancement to individuals who, like the mulattoes, were noted for their skill as artisans and—what was more important—for their intellectual ability.[19] The rise, after independence in 1822, of the *academias superiores* offered to the more able mixed-bloods possibilities not previously attainable. Since by reason of their mental alertness the mulattoes often excelled, it is said, in those pursuits wherein intellectual ability is an essential for success, the development of these centers of advanced study opened, at least to the ambitious and favored ones among them, ready access to the rising professional classes, especially as *doutores* or *bachareis*.[20] Many promising young mulattoes were aided to a professional training by indulgent white fathers or other relatives and friends among the dominant class.

Of a prominent Brazilian intellectual, Raul Calogeras, whose father was a Bahian planter and whose mother was a Negro slave, we are told:

> Raul was very intelligent, and showed remarkable ability in his studies. It is said that when a very young boy at Santo Amaro, he used to slip away late at night, after his mother's master had gone to bed, to study by the street lamp on the corner near the house. When his father discovered this, he was much impressed, and other signs

[18] Vianna, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 151; Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 160–61, 190.

[20] Physicians, lawyers and engineers.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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of Raul's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs. When his father left the Reconcavo to come to Bahia, he brought Raul with him, and here, under his tutelage, Raul went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. And later, when his father went to Rio, he took Raul with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived."

Raul was a very dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He came to be a prominent citizen and was noted not only for his fine figure, distinguished bearing, poise, and personal charm but also for his intelligence and professional competence. At one time he was a much-loved confidant of a recent president of Brazil.

Significant also, so far as the rise of the mulatto is concerned, is the fact that early in the nineteenth century the return of young professional men who had been trained in Europe—in Coimbra, Montpelier, Paris, and other centers—enhanced the prestige of the rising professional classes. These young lawyers and physicians, among whom were a number of quite capable mulattoes, were returning to Brazil after an education abroad, ordinarily more traveled, better informed, and more urbane than their brothers or half-brothers on the plantations, in the army, or among the clergy. They were especially attractive, we are told, to the upper-class ladies of the time. The importation of fashionable articles from the Continent—Parisian haberdashery, perfumes, hair-dressings, and English shoes—with the use of all of which these returning young men were quite familiar, enhanced their standing among the élite. The increasing

" From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him. For information on the later life of this mixed-blood see Appen. A.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER VII

THE PRESENT ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE CLASSES IN BAHIAN SOCIETY

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TODAY one finds at Bahia a freely competitive order in which individuals compete for position largely on the basis of personal merit and favorable family circumstance. Individual competence tends to overbalance ethnic origin as a determinant of social status.

However, the darker portion of the population, as we have already noted, have had to contend with the serious handicap that their parents or grandparents or other immediate ancestors began on the bottom as propertyless slaves of the white ruling class and now bear constantly with them, by reason of color and other physical characteristics, indelible badges of this slave ancestry, ineradicable symbols of low status. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the relatively unmixed blacks are still concentrated in the low-pay, low-status employments and that they gradually disappear as one ascends the occupational scale, until in the upper levels they are seldom to be found.

But the mixed-bloods, especially the lighter mulattoes, evidence a strong tendency to climb the occupational ladder. Although the darker individuals still occupy very largely the low-pay employments, the lighter mulattoes tend to be concentrated in the middle tier; while a considerable portion, especially of very light mixed-bloods, or *brancos da Bahia*, as they are sometimes called, have penetrated into the upper strata.

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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very light. Her mother is a *sarará*, her grandmother is a dark mulatto with kinky hair, and her husband is also a dark mixed-blood. Her family, it is said, has gradually risen from the lower class by reason of constantly taking advantage of every educational opportunity, by increasing their economic competence, and by deliberately cultivating "good manners."

At a "night club," where there were gambling, liquid refreshments, and partners for dancing, of 128 guests,[27] 62 were whites, 40 were *brancos da Bahia*, 21 were mulattoes (several quite dark), 1 was a *cafuso*, and 4 were blacks. Of the 26 female entertainers (dancers and singers), 19 were whites,[28] 4 were *brancas da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes (all very light). None of the darker patrons danced during the evening.

In the main gambling-room the group about the table were principally whites, with a few light mulattoes and an occasional dark mixed-blood. In the hallway near the entrance, however, was another gaming-table where stakes were lower. It was patronized principally by dark mulattoes, together with an occasional black, a few *brancos da Bahia*, and very few whites.

Carnival at Bahia lasts three days and is perhaps the most popular festival of the year. At the close of one celebration plans are immediately set on foot for the next. From time to time throughout the ensuing twelve months, newspapers carry reports of the development of these plans, and, beginning about a hundred and fifty days before Carnival, a regular daily feature appears, the time before the big event being checked off, day by day, much as United States newspapers sometimes check off the days preceding Christmas; except

[27] On September 26, 1936. [28] Including a very swarthy Syrian girl.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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This is the general pattern. The exceptions, however, are significant. One occasionally notes, for instance, a darker person participating, apparently without any inhibition or the slightest show of self-consciousness, in the fun of the lighter groups. He ordinarily is an able individual, as evidenced by general appearance, bearing, and speech. Occasionally a white, in appearance and dress evidently of lower-class identity, will be celebrating with black or dark mulatto companions. Among the directing personnel, mulattoes appear in limited numbers, assisting the whites in planning and executing the various activities.

In like manner, the upper social circles at Bahia remain today predominantly white. Only the lighter mixed-bloods, with few exceptions, have penetrated the upper tiers. The darker mulattoes, and particularly the blacks, have only in rare instances gained admittance.

But it is just these few individuals who indicate most clearly the actual racial situation at Bahia. The Negroes began on the bottom. The acceptance, then, of an occasional black, a few dark mulattoes as well as numerous light mixed-bloods into the upper circles points conclusively to the fact that if a person has ability and general competence, the handicap of color can be, and is constantly being, overcome. While it is undoubtedly true that status continues extensively to coincide with color, the fact that certain individuals who are quite dark and otherwise possessed of negroid traits have nevertheless been admitted into exclusive clubs and otherwise have attained positions of trust and responsibility in the community demonstrates quite clearly that in Bahia color is subordinate to other indices of class identification. Individual competence overbalances racial descent in the final determination of status. Color is undoubtedly a handi-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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cap. But it always tends to be discounted if the individual in question possesses other characteristics of upper-class identity, such as professional competence, intellectual ability, educational achievement, wealth, an "engaging" manner, personal "charm," poise, "breeding," and, especially with the females, beauty. All these are characteristics which define status in a society based upon class rather than upon caste distinctions.

In this connection, an incident in Brazil noted by Edschmid is illuminating:

> The conductor [of the street car] passed all the men wearing collars into the first-class compartment whether they were white, yellow, brown, or black. He relegated all men without collars, regardless of their pigmentation, to the second class. He only looked for a collar. He sent a black-boy with a collar but without boots or shoes into the first, and he relegated a handsome English lad in a low-cut jersey to the second class.[11]

[11] Kasimir Edschmid, *South America* (New York, 1932), p. 370.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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degree of European intermixture increases or their symbolic reference is called into question by evidence of status-enhancing qualities in a given individual. Similarly, personal competence or individual achievement admit persons possessing considerable color into such status-symbolizing institutions as exclusive clubs. Race consciousness is at a minimum, "passing" has no point, and the circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man." The organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence rather than of racial descent.

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The racial situation at Bahia probably is, in a general way, typical of all Brazil. At the same time a considerable immigration of Europeans during the past century into the southern Brazilian states, especially São Paulo, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul, and the gradual development of an industrial society in São Paulo, may have modified somewhat the attitudes formerly prevailing in these areas. A Bahian mixed-blood recently returned from Rio Grande do Sul with the statement that he had there been referred to as a "Negro" and had otherwise felt uncomfortable distinctions to which in Bahia he had been unaccustomed. That there is some prejudice in the cosmopolitan city of Rio de Janeiro is attested by the organization in 1935 of O Movimento Brasileiro Contra o Preconceito Racial ("The Brazilian Movement against Race Prejudice"), sponsored by the prominent intellectuals, Arthur Ramos and Roquette Pinto. In São Paulo, the organization in 1924 of a Negro journal, *O Clarim d'Alvorada*, and later of others like *A Chibata*, *Cultura*, *O Clarim*, and *A Voz da Raça* ("The Voice of the Race"); of several Negro clubs for recreational and

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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similar advancement in the United States, but by all members of the Brazilian community.

14. Since, then, the blacks, the mixed-bloods, and the whites do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste.

15. Nor does the Negro in Brazil appear to be, as he is in the United States, developing into a self-conscious racial minority in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant racial majority.

16. Instead, the entire organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence and individual achievement more than upon the basis of racial descent. This fact is perhaps best reflected in the common saying: "A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro."

17. The Brazilian racial situation is, then, sufficiently distinct from that in India, for example, where the social order is organized on the principle of caste, and from those in many parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority, to constitute, along with the Hawaiian racial situation and certain others, a distinct type: *a multiracial class society.*

18. There is no deliberate segregation as one finds where races have been embittered for a long time; spatial distribution is largely the consequence of economic sifting. Such isolation as exists is largely due to varying educational levels or to identification with elements of African culture, particularly the fetish cult.

19. For the assimilation of the *Africanos* at Bahia, while now far advanced, is not yet complete. African survivals still

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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individuals seek to rationalize and to defend their customary conduct. This ideology is perhaps best summarized in the commonly heard phrase, "We Brazilians are becoming one people."

25. Thus, the race problem in Brazil, in so far as there is a race problem, tends to be identified with the resistance which an ethnic group offers, or is thought to offer, to absorption and assimilation.

This is not to say that there are no social distinctions in Brazil; for such are obviously common to all societies, one thing or another serving as a basis. Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that the blacks and mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (*a*) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstance, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society and (*b*) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community.

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[SALVADOR]

/34/ A Multiracial Society with Classes

565 [114] The structure of the classes of Bahia has never been described and analyzed from the sociological point of view, except very summarily by Donald Pierson (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 64.

As this scholar shows, one may say schematically that the population of Bahia consists of an "upper" class, to which belong the descendants of the old aristocracy, the great landowners and the merchants, the intellectuals and those who practice a liberal profession, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, politicians, officers of the armed forces, poets and journalists, university professors, the few industrialists that Bahia has produced, and a lower class made up of very poor people engaged in simple occupations, unskilled workmen and manual laborers. There is, furthermore, a stratum that one cannot exactly call a middle class, but rather an intermediate group, containing minor employees, petty officials, and tradesmen.

*563 •555 565 As for their place in society, one may say that, although in general terms the status of the Bahians depends on their birth, there is no doubt that social ascent proceeds by way of free competition. Blacks and métis, as individuals, may, "by their personal merit or as the result of favorable circumstances, improve their social situation and even obtain a position in the upper strata of society; this position will be in keeping, not only with their color group, but with the whole of the community" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 419, 422; cf. also Frazier, art. cit., p. 477.

565 *563 [361] [362] The majority of colored persons, like all the lower class, lives in poor quarters, in the outskirts of the city or in small clusters of modest houses interspersed in the residential quarters of the higher classes; moreover, numerous colored families of intermediate or upper status live in these same quarters. Colored persons are admitted, according to their economic resources and

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175 178 *563 ● 555 These marriages increased after /40 cont./ Independence, in 1822, with the social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, op. cit., III, p. 951.

178 *563 626 584 593 Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have decreased with time, and so the latter became more numerous every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels between parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems to be the general opinion.

*563 557 The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who, in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts with white boys "for fun"; in fact, she is trying to get the man she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother approves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond. A student of the same physical type "prefers" moreno suitors, but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.

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The antagonism of the /47 cont./ inhabitants of Bahia against the Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are responsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

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In the offices of large export or import firms made up in part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility, but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants, numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large /48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 441 472 829 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had always been its confidential agent and who proved in this situation that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning the goods that had been entrusted to him. [452] A mulatto merchant, owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was [464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and did not even allow them to work in their offices." The ownership of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route [581] by means of marriages between the most capable employees and the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover, in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who, with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 441 472 871 • 555 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says, he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some employees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia, even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into commerce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves [464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to improve, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of young colored men coming from poor families and from a very low level of education. These young people therefore have only minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital invested or on administrative knowledge.

[SALVADOR]

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178 Thirty or forty years ago, among the insults hurled at po-
*563 litical adversaries in the newspapers and even in the speeches of
666 the legislative assemblies, the epithet "mulatto" or "Negro" was frequent. Today this takes place less often, because the style of political contests has lost much of its character of personal reprisals. Nevertheless one of the last governors of the State of Bahia, a statesman of national fame and once even a deputy minister to one of the presidents of the Republic, was a moreno of great moral and intellectual prestige. While he was in power, none of his political adversaries publicly alluded to his "caste." But, after he had left his office, a newspaper of another city, criticizing his activity, published a comment entitled "Administrative profile of a pardavasco" (1),

[192] 1. Pardavasco = diminutive sometimes used as a synonym of pardo.

an article in which the qualification mulato pachola was repeated in a contemptuous sense; another politician, in turn condemning his work in the government, delivered a speech against what he called "the creole democracy of the creole M.," the expression "creole" being used here in the sense of a Black or the descendant of a Black born in Brazil. Recently in the national parliament a politician from another State, feeling offended /56/ by the newspaper of an industrialist of Bahia, a whitened mulatto, gave a violen speech in which he called the latter "métis of low extraction." Attacks of this kind, however, do not always come from finos Whites; more than once they are the doing of "Whites in color."

*563 In short, although it is rare that a Black or a dark mulatto
•555 reaches a high political position, it is nonetheless true that for many colored people politics is a means of elevating oneself in the social hierarchy. Attacks of the kind that we have alluded to show a certain antagonism toward the colored men who elevate
[646] themselves thanks to politics. At the present time the leader of the governmental party in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia is the red curiboca (métis of Indian and White blood) of whom we have already had occasion to speak. It is for this reason

[SALVADOR]

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*563 that one may say that for more than 100 years Bahia has been
•555 governed "by Whites and by those who regard themselves as such" (1).

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1. Von Spix and von Martius, Através a Bahia, /Across Bahia/, 2nd edition, Bahia, p. 75.

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*563 The Bureaucracy

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[557] In all the public administrations of Bahia one finds colored officials (especially in the modest posts). In the past, and even sometimes in our day, the officials were admitted through the influence of politicians or influential members of the administration itself. This is the way numerous dark officials were introduced in all the categories of the administration, without encountering any barrier or opposition. But well in advance of the governments of the States or the municipal services, the federal administration established a regime of competitive examinations in order to make up its ranks, even affecting purely bureaucratic positions. According to a métis who came into the bureaucracy in 1929, "in the federal civil service, there is no favoritism for the Whites, because the offices there are filled by competitive examinations, and there is no opposition to the registration of colored candidates. A well-bred, pleasant, competent Black or mulatto is accepted as associate or chief without opposition on the part of the Whites. Except when they are rude and when they take advantage of their position as departmental heads to make excessive unreasonable demands on Whites or Blacks, no one cares about their color."

With the perfecting of the system of competitive examinations, carried out by means of examinations in which the names of the candidates are not known by the members of the jury, an increasing number of persons of dark color are entering public service throughout Brazil, and cases of candidates who consider themselves victims of racial discrimination are rare. This system

[SALVADOR]

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*563 647 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. During the [175] [648] colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

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1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revoluçao social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of [557] Brazil since the colonial period. Today, says another informant, [555] "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, [178] they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. Two of our informants illustrate their assertion [665] by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

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*563 708 701 [874] police force and in politics. A school for the training of officers destined for this corps was recently created, in order to improve its capacity as a reserve for the army. Among the present students there are a few with dark skin. One may find two explanations for this: either a preliminary selection at the time of the examinations for admission, when it may happen that the young candidates with /61/ dark skin do not, for various reasons, satisfy the required conditions, or because the career of officer now has more prestige and consequently attracts a larger number of Whites. Up [555] to the present time the career of military-police officer represented one of the ways of social ascent for young colored men. Recently, under indictments of various kinds, a heavily pigmented Black who had reached the rank of captain was expelled from the corps. Not long ago, in a group of 27 young officers whose photographs were displayed in a commercial establishment, eight morenos and light mulattoes and one dark mulatto could be seen. But it is also certain that the officers corps at present, though mixed, is composed of Whites in the majority. Moreover, in the course of recent years the officers chosen by the general command to be integrated in the military department of the government of the State have almost without exception been Whites or "whitened": an aide-de-camp of this high authority must be a representative person, in order to make a "good impression" on individuals who come to the government Palace or on those who are passing through Bahia and on whom this officer must pay courtesy visits. A justification that everyone concedes.

*563 701 368 Among the officers of two local corps of civil character, but having a military organization and insignia, the civil guard and corps of firemen, the majority is dark. The Whites or "whitened" are in the minority in the second of these groups. This proportion corresponds to the lesser prestige that these two organizations enjoy, both, however, greatly appreciated for the services that they render to the community.

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[SALVADOR]

The Arts

*563 53 In Bahia the populace has its own art and its artists who interpret it according to their personal conception. And one may say that from this point of view there exists a form of art that is peculiar to poor and colored persons, especially in the [565] realm of music and dance. But in the artistic activities of the higher stratum of the population, the participation of colored *563 533 people is not important, except for music. Perhaps because of the belief that attributes to mulattoes a particular inclination for • [555] music, colored musicians are relatively numerous, and some of them enjoy a great deal of prestige and are admitted into the social scheme. In all the bands and in all the orchestras there is a large proportion of Blacks and mulattoes, sometimes even as [875] soloists. Some of them engage in teaching and in this way reach [555] a higher social rank when, thanks to their competence, they succeed in having pupils who belong to the wealthiest families and when they become part of the teaching corps of the most important schools of music.

*563 875 533 Of three musicians, professors of piano and composition of Bahia, of great renown in the course of these last years, two are mulattoes. The most celebrated among them, after having very brilliantly concluded a course in Germany, taught for many years in Bahia; he then moved to another State; every time that he returns to his country he is the object of demonstrations of fellow-feeling; on these occasions numerous students or instrumentalists seek him out for short refresher courses. All Bahia is proud of the talents of this artist. Another mulatto, with the help of influential persons, organized a school of music which rapidly became very famous for the quality of its teaching and for the frequent concerts that it organized. After his death, the management of the school passed to his moreno son. The teaching of violin, which is at [462] present done almost exclusively by men, includes numerous black or dark mulatto professionals; in the teaching of piano, an activity to a large extent engaged in by women, one finds morenas and *563 545 533 "whitened" of great fame. A very popular singer of mixed blood is both founder and directress of an organization which, with the contribution of some thousands of adherents of the highest classes of

[SALVADOR]

*563 /65 cont./
545 In any case it is certain that in the realm of the theater the
554 possibilities of social ascent for persons of dark color are ex-
•[555] tremely limited, as, moreover, for the people of Bahia in general, because the professions of actor and especially of actress are held in very poor esteem. The city never having had a resident theater company, its theatrical life depends not only on the passing-through of companies from other States, but even, owing to the pejorative opinion concerning the theatrical profession, one can say that at present there are no Bahian actors. The small number of those who do succeed work in other Brazilian cities and rarely perform in Bahia.

/66/ Education

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871 For numerous inhabitants of Bahia, "color prejudice is a problem of education." This opinion is formulated in different ways, but it always expresses the conviction that it is the difference of education, that is to say, of manners and of schooling, that is the greatest obstacle in the acceptance of the Black and of colored persons in the white milieus. It is not rare to hear it said among dark persons that "the evil comes from the fact that many Blacks do not have the necessary education." A Black said that his companions, members of the same association as he, maintain that the Blacks can very well occupy high positions, but he proves to them that they are not on a level that permits them to claim such positions: they lack the teaching and education. "It is not sufficient to appear spick and span, as many believe!" And the same Black adds that a "well-bred and educated Black is able to enter anywhere." And the lighter an individual is, the more easily he advances if he satisfies these requirements. A parda girl relates that the members of a professional circle where she works as a secretary treat her with more courtesy and "less distance" when they learn that she is not a mere employee, but a graduate teacher, "an educated person."

[SALVADOR]

/66 cont./

*563 555 871 [171] Knowing to what extent schooling is useful to them to reduce the social distance that separates them from the ruling classes, colored persons, even the humblest and the darkest, make great efforts to send their children to primary school; they go so far as to make the sacrifice to send them to secondary courses when they could already be helping them in their work. A mulatto who lives in the northern part of the country states that in this the Blacks of Bahia differ from those of the other States: "Here the humblest women -- washerwomen, cooks, domestics -- send their children to school and are very anxious about what they are taught. In the other States this does not interest them (1)."

[162] [872] [463]

1. Among the 92 students of both sexes in a public elementary school chosen at random, 23 were white, 42 pardos, and 27 black. Those responsible for the colored children (mothers, fathers, uncles, or godmothers) were domestics, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, petty officials, chauffeurs, commercial employees, cooks, washerwomen, etc.

*563 871 171 "The Blacks of another large Brazilian city," notes a black university student, "are very well dressed and shod, but they speak badly, use slang expressions, and are incapable of carrying on a conversation of a certain level. One might say that they are not at all anxious to learn."

*563 555 829 There is a very widespread conviction that, in order to excel in life and elevate oneself socially, a colored person must be better /67/ prepared and more capable than the Whites. "A young colored man must have great personal merit to be able to assert himself," says the student mentioned above. A mulatto physician who had an exceptional career and who has become one of the greatest names in Brazilian science told one of our informants that a colored man, in order to succeed, must have twice the merit as his white competitor, for exactly the same thing happens with a Black as with two balls of the same weight and the same size, one of metal and the other of wood; when one takes them in one's hand it always seems as though the metal one were heavier. Thus a colored man always gives the impression of having less merit than a White.

[SALVADOR]

/71 cont./

* 563 893 178 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately published with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual; "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

* 563 873 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were metis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

/72/ Religion

* 563 794 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the communion table, independently of their "quality." In the solemn [796] festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations. [788] Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around them. In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimination; since, however, some of them are made up of people different [565]

[SALVADOR]

/74 cont./

*563 794 793 797 [554] give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance, and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied important positions in the administration of the State and who even reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen, to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

*563 794 554

The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

*563 793 [195] [567]

•[555]

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1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

[SALVADOR]

/78 cont./

563 526 [178] [575] 563 542 555 554

of the latter, however, was part of these teams for many years and was known and admired by the entire city. About 30 years ago football started to become professional; today there are few important clubs for amateurs. In the present phase that of professionals, there is no restriction against mulatto or black players. They are acclaimed with enthusiasm, and many people consider them exceptionally suited for this game because of their agility and their skill. The most important and the richest clubs wrangle over these players and offer them very large sums so that they will consent to play on their teams. Thus several of them are made up almost exclusively of dark players. The most popular footballers of Bahia are almost all black or dark mulattoes. It should be noted, however, that the fame and the popularity of these sportsmen, in large part recruited from the lowest strata of the population, do not confer on them a higher rank; they have access to certain groups who are particularly interested in the sport; but they do not thereby acquire the right to attend the recreational celebrations of certain clubs, except on very rare occasions. Another aspect of football is that its "teams" are organized and supported by associations that generally also carry on recreational activities and are directed with passionate devotion, even at the price of pecuniary sacrifices, by rich and influential people in commerce, the liberal professions, and the bureaucracy. To take part in the management of one of these associations or on the committee that co-ordinates sports activities throughout the State of Bahia is greatly coveted: this permits one to affirm his prestige and to obtain political support from players and from thousands of fans of the sport. Some politicians distinguish themselves by the effort they make to obtain subventions and other resources for the sporting associations. According to the social level of each of these institutions, the opportunities that colored persons have to take part in their management vary. An informant who for many years was a member of the aforementioned committee cites the names of various mulattoes and Blacks who, by their wealth and their devotion, attained the posts of president and of director of several of these organizations, as well as of the sports federation of the State.

5: Azevedo--102 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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/79/ The Liberal Professions

*563 463 •555 One of the aspects of social mobility in Brazil is the fact that a colored person from the most humble economic condition is able, thanks to his talent and effort, to elevate himself to a high position in the liberal professions and in the intellectual milieus, achieving in this way a status far above that into which he was born (1).

1. "The entire organization of the society tends to take on the form of an order of free competition, in which individuals find their place thanks to the criterion of professional competence and to chance, more than by racial origin." Pierson, op. cit., p. 420. The same remark is found in the book by Ruth Landes, The City of Women, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1947, p. 60.

One of the ways of elevating oneself socially, for everyone, is to practice a liberal profession and to acquire in it the flattering title of doctor, which, almost without discrimination, one bestows in speaking to university graduates. And this is possible [873] for colored persons as well as for whites, for in Brazil there are no separate universities for "Negroes"; all accept any student whatsoever. A black lawyer of African origin, already mentioned for his vigilant attitude on behalf of people of his race, has written: "For them (the Blacks) are open the wide doors of the temple of science, the fine arts, commerce, industry, and scientific agriculture, where, on a par with his white brother, the Black receives teaching that will render him capable of proving himself strong in life's struggle and of attaining the goal that he sets for himself in the arcana of law and justice, of medicine, in the intricate mysteries of engineering, of commerce, of industry, and of work" (2).

[113] 2. Alakija (Maxwell P. Assunçao), "A parábola da velhinha /The parable of the little old man/," A Tarde, Bahia, 17 August 1922.

[SALVADOR]

/79 cont./

*563 873 178 511 With the gradual rise of the standard of living of the lower strata of the population and with the augmentation of facilities granted to poor students in the framework of secondary education, thanks to the creation of new free colleges, the number of colored students is rising from day to day.

*563 •555 573 873 Moreover, many fathers and, in the case of young colored people, many mothers of very modest circumstances make extraordinary sacrifices to assure their children a diploma that will permit them to practice a liberal profession. As a result, in the various faculties of the University of Bahia there are numerous

*563 571 873 colored students who share the life, the studies, the diversions of their white comrades and who form groups with them according to their social rank and the center of their intellectual and academic interest. If one sometimes sees groups made up solely of young colored people, it is nevertheless certain that in the university there is no intentional or permanent segregation /80/ based on classifications of "race" or "quality." In no other environment is there more harmony and less tension in interracial relations, the informants unanimously declare. Nevertheless events whose meaning could be debatable, and which some students attribute to race prejudice, do take place. There are even students who have a tendency to remain isolated during all their years of study: certain informants say that they adopt such behavior in the hope of avoiding annoyances that might be on account of their racial affiliation. Others claim to have had difficulties when they made their application to groups of excursionists or when they took part in oratorical contests, the winners of which were to go to Rio de Janeiro as representatives of the students of Bahia. One man practicing a liberal profession, very dark in color, said that he had never suffered from discrimination when he attended the university, but that he had heard his white comrades speak of people of his type by designating them with the pejorative term of "Negro." The interpretations of the informants on the subject of the preceding facts vary, however. Some think that these episodes are caused by the feeling of inferiority and the timidity of students of very low social status. With

[SALVADOR]

/81 cont./

*563 873 875 the faculty of medicine, one can see at least eight pardos and morenos who taught there during the first half of the last century (2).

2. The colored candidates sometimes encountered serious difficulties in getting on the higher staffs of the professorship. One of them, Dr. Luiz Alvares dos Santos, in the thesis that he wrote in 1859 in order to become a professor in the faculty of medicine of Bahia, complained of having suffered rebuffs, which he attributed to the fact that he was of mixed blood. After three attempts he nevertheless ended up by being admitted.

In a list of 99 professors now at the university one counts 15 morenos and mulattoes, and /82/ an identical proportion among the assistants. Never is the scientific and social prestige of university professors measured by the pigmentation of the skin, and some of the most renowned intellectuals of Bahia are colored professors whose names are the pride of their faculties. Numerous finos white students are honored to have prepared their doctoral thesis under the direction of these professors and to have done their practical studies with them.

*563 463 • 555 The liberal professions are indubitably the most direct path of social ascent for persons who are colored and of modest milieu. With regard to these professions, even in the ones that are most on view persons of all types can have a career and build up a clientele, particularly as far as doctors and lawyers are concerned, among the upper-class Whites. The persons practicing a liberal profession whom federal and state organizations register and supervise are divided up as follows:

[SALVADOR]

/82 cont./

Professions	Total number	Percentage		
		Whites	Métis	Blacks
Lawyers	1,088	68.8	30	1.1
Civil engineers .	518	72.8	26.8	0.3
Physicians . . .	1,712	81.1	16.9	2
Pharmacists . .	173	82	14.4	3.6

Men of all types occupy posts in public administrations and have management posts in them: they can reach the highest offices without having this provoke comments by their subordinates. Some of the better physicians in Bahia have been colored men whose names are recalled with respect and gratitude. A dark mulatto, brother of a female informant, was classed in first place, along with two white colleagues, in a competition for an important technical post. According to other informants, however, the exclusions formerly suffered by the candidates for the posts of the magistracy were attributed to race prejudice. "One did not openly deny the merits of colored candidates, but in the classification they always figured in second or third rank, although they achieved excellent tests," one informant tells us, and he adds that a certain colored candidate, after having been approved, saw his appointment postponed on several repeated occasions. In spite of this, there are in the judicial magistracy numerous morenos and dark colored men occupying the positions of judges, prosecutors, and praetors. The highest tribunal of the State includes about one-third colored judges, some of whom have assumed the /83/ presidency of the court of appeals. Other positions connected with judiciary power are also filled by colored men, and it is the same for those of clerk of the court. The positions of notary, for example, very lucrative positions, are filled by persons of great prestige. Among the five notaries of the city one is fino white, of aristocratic family, and has already occupied important political posts, among them that of governor of the State; another, a very black Black, is very much appreciated for his moral qualities.

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*563 554 463

Career chosen	Whites		Mulattoes		Blacks	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Prestige careers (1)	80	62.50	33	46.80	44	15.70
Modest careers (2)	20	37.50	67	53.20	56	84.30

1. Merchant, civil engineer, physician, farmer /Fr. fermier/, accountant /Fr. comptable/, woman doctor, dentist, lawyer, engineer (woman), accountant /Fr. comptable/, pianist, official, professor.

2. Mechanic, salesman, printer, chauffeur, tailor, bookkeeper /Fr. comptable/, saleswoman, typist, dressmaker.

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*563 555 One may make two observations on the subject of these replies. The first is that schoolchildren of modest families, between 12 and 15 years of age, mulatto as well as black, manifest the intention of adopting prestige careers in which Whites predominate. This may denote their desire to escape situations socially and economically inferior; it may also express their faith in the possibility they have of realizing these aspirations, a possibility that would be refused them in a society with racial discrimination. The second observation is that the white persons to whom these replies were shown manifested neither surprise nor reprobation concerning the aspirations of colored children.

*563 555 538 In Brazilian folklore there is an anecdote that proves how much Bahia is known as a place where Blacks can acquire status by means of the liberal professions. It is said that a Black, very well dressed, arrived in the State of Ceara and the first person he met called him "doctor." Amazed to see that his rank had been guessed, the Black asked how his interlocutor could know that he was a graduate. And the reply was very clear: "A Black so well dressed can only be a servant among the English or a doctor in Bahia."

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/91 cont./

*563 575 554

Club	Number of members	Percentage			
		Whites	"Morenos"	Mulattoes	Blacks
		%	%	%	%
High category	1,522	67.21	24.83	7.95	-
Middle category	1,115	38.02	35.78	25.56	0.62

[535] In the dance clubs of workers, domestics, soldiers, and day laborers, the Whites are a minority and the Blacks are in high proportion.

As has been said above, one of the conditions required for the admission of a colored person in the recreational associations of the highest categories is to have a solid economic basis or a doctor's diploma. Indeed, in the distinguished clubs mentioned in the table above, the group of merchant members includes 76.89 o/o of white phenotype, 16.50 o/o morenos, and 6.60 o/o light branqueados (whitened) mulattoes, while that of the liberal professions contains only 62.03 o/o of the white type, 30.05 o/o morenos, and 7.90 o/o mulattoes. This confirms the observa-
•[555] tion that many people succeed in improving their social rank by way of the liberal professions, for they are thus able to be introduced into the brotherhoods and social clubs, organizations which, in addition to their specific functions, are very important in that they are, as it were, an index of the social position of the Bahians.

*563 575 Numerous informants assert that they would not make an application to these clubs on their own, but that they are /92/ sometimes introduced by white friends. It may also happen that such proposals remain without effect when the management committees learn that it is a matter of a very black person. The papers lie in the archives of the club, but the candidate is never told the real or presumed reason for his refusal. It is said of a

[SALVADOR]

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*563 671 829 esteemed, we only need more respect for the lower class in general; we need to improve its food, to help it effectively rise again, or, before that, to obtain a level of life that it has never as yet had."

/103/ Conclusions

*563 829 That there is no color prejudice in Bahia is a statement that is only partly true. Colored people are still regarded as forming a biological and social category characterized by traits that are considered inferior to those of the Whites. Some people are convinced that Blacks and Whites differ in intellectual capacities, in personality, morality, and aptitude for progress. They declare that if Bahia does not progress the fault lies with the Blacks. That is the reason why such a large number of light mulattoes conceal or deny their caste or feel ill at ease when one makes an indiscreet allusion. These prejudices, though slight, explain the cases of discrimination of which colored people in certain sectors of the society are victims. These incidents, moreover, are not accompanied by any violence, and it is difficult to distinguish them from manifestations of class antagonism, in view of the fact that in Brazil skin color is very often a symbol of social rank. The Whites evoke the memory of the old Portuguese colonists who dominated the economy, politics, and the administration, and whose descendants, even today, make up the major part of high society. As for the Blacks, they remind us of slavery, work on the plantations, and domestic occupations. Even today the colored men are cantoned in the lowest and least educated strata of society.

*563 [565] [564] [555] But the population of Bahia may be defined as a multiracial society with classes, and not with castes, if one defines caste as a closed group to which one belongs by birth and from which it is impossible to escape. In Bahia colored people have a status that is conditioned by their individual qualities and aptitudes, and they may enter into competition with the Whites. In principle

[SALVADOR]

/103 cont./ In principle anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities, or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group, however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the distribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize the upper classes:

	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample representative of the total population, which proves, in fact, that the different types still do not have the possibility of advancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

[SALVADOR]

/104 cont./

000 in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account
*563 for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation
175 of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of
212 the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city
178 was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although
[562] it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they
[659] progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the pardos over the age of five know how to read and write, and their number is increasing every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them in variable proportions.

*563 It should also be remembered that among those who are
571 called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial relations are then governed by some "fair play"; in other words, Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of Bahia.

*563 The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are
• 555 in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion
178 of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction, produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is

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*563 • 555 178 important to note that up to now the chief means of social ascent, by which a large number of Blacks and métis have acquired high status, is education in the double sense of good manners and of instruction of a certain level, not to mention adherence to the customs and to the concepts of the predominant culture, which, in the last analysis, is a problem of acculturation or of greater integration of the colored masses into the dominant society. One *563 608 178 of the mechanisms that facilitate this integration is the protection and aid that numerous godfathers and godmothers offer their colored godchildren by rearing them in their own houses, by procuring employment for them, by sending them on to secondary and higher studies, and often by continuing afterwards to guide and protect them, this even being one of the principal functions of this system of spiritual kinship.

*563 829 The preponderant groups that constitute the upper strata of Bahian society do not oppose these tendencies with organized resistance, and, in accordance with the liberalism that is the basis of their mentality, they consider them proof of moral progress and of "civilization," of which, in general, the Bahians of all types are very proud.

/Tables I-III follow on pages 142-144./